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HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS: HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS, INCLUDING ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES FOR IMPROVING THE EFFECTIVE ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS

Enhancing the effectiveness of the principle of periodic and genuine elections

Report of the Secretary-General

CONTENTS

		Paragraphs	Page
I.	INTRODUCTION	1 - 4	3
II.	IMPLEMENTATION OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS 46/137 AND 47/138	5 - 20	4
	A. Consolidation of electoral assistance capacities and coordination of activities	5 - 14	4
	B. Coordination with other organizations	15 - 17	6
	C. United Nations Trust Fund for Electoral Observation	18	7
	D. Roster of experts	19	7
	E. Institutional memory	20	8
III.	ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE PROVIDED BY THE UNITED NATIONS	21 - 50	8
	A. Major United Nations missions	21 - 37	8
	B. Coordination and support missions	38 - 44	12

CONTENTS (continued)

		Paragraphs	Page
	C. Follow and report approach	45 - 46	13
	D. Technical assistance and advisory services	47 - 50	14
IV.	REVIEW OF EXPERIENCE	51 - 74	15
	A. General experience with democratization processes	51 - 55	15
	B. Evaluation of guidelines	56 - 74	16
V.	CONCLUSIONS - LEARNING FROM EXPERIENCE	75 - 76	21
	The unique position of the United Nations for providing electoral assistance	75 - 76	21
Annex.	Status of Member States' requests as of 16 October 1993		23

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The present report has been prepared in accordance with a request by the General Assembly in its resolution 47/138 of 18 December 1992, entitled "Enhancing the effectiveness of the principle of periodic and genuine elections".

2. The purpose of the present report is to present the progress made to date in the implementation of General Assembly resolutions 46/137 of 17 December 1991 and 47/138, and to provide the information requested by the Assembly in those resolutions. The report describes the status of requests from Member States for electoral assistance and verification. It also provides information on the consolidation of the capacity of the relevant units of the United Nations system for delivering electoral assistance, the coordination of electoral activities within the United Nations system as well as by other organizations, the evolution of the Trust Fund established in August 1992 and on the development of a Roster of Experts. Also, as requested in resolution 47/138, the report evaluates the provisional guidelines in the light of later experience. Throughout, it relates all aspects of current United Nations experience and activities in electoral assistance to the importance of elections before, while, and after they have been held, in defining and accelerating democratization.

3. Over the past year, the number of requests received has remained approximately constant. Between 16 October 1992 and 15 October 1993, the United Nations received 27 requests for electoral assistance from 24 countries. During the past year however, the United Nations has significantly increased its capacity to respond positively to such requests. Thus, the United Nations has been involved in five major electoral missions in the last year as compared to three during the previous year. Coordination and support for the activities of international observers has been provided in six cases, but in only two cases during the previous year. Resident Coordinators were asked to follow electoral processes and report to the Secretary-General in seven cases. There were 21 instances of technical assistance or advisory activities compared to 14 during the previous year. The number of preparatory, advisory or needs-assessment missions also increased significantly during the period. The complexity of activities has continued and has grown; a number have required, at various stages, technical assistance and advice, observation and institution-building. Details on the requests and activities are set forth in annex I.

4. Electoral assistance activities within the United Nations system have been guided by absolute respect for national sovereignty and the avoidance of any possible unrequested involvement in the internal affairs of any State. The basic premise of any United Nations electoral assistance is that it is provided only at the specific request of the concerned Member State. Furthermore, as stated in the report of the Secretary-General on the subject to the General Assembly at its forty-sixth session, the involvement of the United Nations requires "broad public support in the State for the United Nations assuming ... a role [in the electoral process]" (A/46/609 and Corr.1, para. 79). The experience acquired since the establishment of a focal point (Under-Secretary-General James O. C. Jonah) and the increased professionalism within the Electoral Assistance Unit and other offices involved in electoral

assistance are additional guarantees of their respect for those basic principles.

II. IMPLEMENTATION OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS 46/137 AND 47/138

A. Consolidation of electoral assistance capacities and coordination of activities

5. The growing volume of activities during the last year and the need to provide adequate responses made it necessary to consolidate and, in some cases, expand the capacity of United Nations units involved in electoral assistance. In the case of the Electoral Assistance Unit, three posts were redeployed from within the Department of Political Affairs following its reorganization in 1992. Since the timing of United Nations responses to requests for electoral assistance are determined by the timetables and needs of the Member States, the workload of the Unit cannot be scheduled well in advance. For example, members of the Unit have been involved in several needs-assessment missions (El Salvador, Malawi and Uganda), have participated in electoral assistance activities (the Central African Republic, the Congo, Colombia, Djibouti, Eritrea, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique and Seychelles), and have conducted ex-post reviews of major operations (Cambodia). These activities by the staff have greatly strengthened their professional skills, and have increased international recognition of United Nations competence in electoral assistance.

6. The demands on the Unit, however, at times exceeds its resources. In order to create a larger pool of qualified personnel, the United Nations, in cooperation with the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), organized a two-week, full-time programme during October/November 1992, which introduced 37 staff members to electoral assistance and provided theoretical background. Eight of those officers from other units of the Secretariat participated in electoral assistance-related missions at the end of last year. The training programme will be repeated in the near future.

7. In order to enhance overall coordination and exchange of information between different departments, a Task Force on Electoral Matters was established in 1992, under the chairmanship of Under-Secretary-General Jonah. The Task Force, which meets regularly, consists of representatives of all departments and agencies directly involved in electoral assistance. Since the establishment of the Task Force, five meetings have served to clarify the needs of its members and to prevent duplication at various levels in the actual delivery of electoral assistance.

8. There has been significant improvement in the coordination of activities and collaboration among the main units of the United Nations involved in technical assistance. In the case of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), technical assistance to elections is coordinated by the Division for Global and Interregional Programmes (DGIP), with which the Electoral Assistant Unit works closely. In addition, the concentration of electoral activities in Africa and Latin America has also resulted in increased cooperation between the Unit and the respective regional bureaux of UNDP. The Unit has also collaborated effectively with the UNDP the United Nations Volunteer Programme

(UNV) of UNDP to obtain volunteers to fill the ranks of electoral monitors in major missions.

9. During the past year, UNDP has expanded its electoral assistance activities. United Nations Resident Coordinators are increasingly important in the organization and funding of technical assistance. UNDP national allocation funds (Indicative Planning Figures) have paid for numerous technical and needs-assessment missions. In addition, UNDP Project INT/91/033, entitled "The strengthening of electoral administration in developing countries", has also been an important source of support for initial activities. A major initiative of UNDP was a review of its involvement in electoral assistance activities, which also covers the activities of the Electoral Assistance Unit, the Centre for Human Rights and other relevant units. The major initiative of the UNDP Electoral Group, which is chaired by the Division for Global and Interregional Programmes and includes participants from the United Nations Electoral Assistance Unit and UNHCR, was a review of the United Nations electoral assistance activities 1992-1993. While a formal evaluation of these recent activities was seen as premature, the review mission was asked to advise on improving the relevance and effectiveness of the activities of UNDP, the Electoral Assistance Unit, the Department for Development Support and Management Services, the United Nations Centre for Human Rights, the Office for Project Services, and the United Nations Volunteers Programme in the electoral field. This review, which has been carried out in close collaboration with the United Nations Electoral Assistance Unit and the United Nations Centre for Human Rights, has already stimulated some creative initiatives in the United Nations system. A round-table discussion of the review mission in August 1993 resulted in plans for implementing the recommendations.

10. The Department for Development Support and Management Services has been a pioneer in electoral assistance, especially in improving public institutions for effective governance and technical assistance. Because of increasing demands, the Department has devoted additional resources with a view to increasing its strength as a major agency for technical assistance to electoral activities. In the past year, the Department created a special unit to this end and appointed a technical adviser.

11. The Electoral Assistance Unit and the Department for Development Support and Management Services have had particularly close cooperation. The technical assistance projects of the Department fund most coordination and support of international observers, and many needs-assessment or advisory missions. In addition, much of the technical assistance to elections is in delicate political environments, which requires frequent consultations between the Department and the Department of Political Affairs. The accumulating experience and professional expertise of the Electoral Assistance Unit provides important contributions to the design and support of technical assistance projects. For example, the Department for Development Support and Management Services uses the Unit's rapidly expanding roster of experts to identify consultants for its projects.

12. The recent increase in demand for electoral assistance from the Centre for Human Rights was recognized by the World Conference on Human Rights in the Vienna Declaration and Programme for Action. The Declaration called for assistance upon the request of Governments in the conduct of free and fair

elections, which included assistance in the human rights aspects of elections and public information about elections. The Vienna Declaration also asked for strengthening of the programme of advisory services and technical assistance of the Centre, including in electoral assistance, in support of which, the Declaration called for an increase in the Centre's resources, both by a larger allocation from the regular budget, and through contributions to the Centre's Voluntary Fund for Technical Cooperation in the Field of Human Rights. Those resources, and an increase in the number of specialists, should better position the Centre to respond to Governments requesting electoral assistance.

13. Recent activities of the Centre for Human Rights will help to ensure that human rights are properly protected in the design of electoral activities. The Centre has prepared guidelines for fact-finding or needs-assessment missions on the human rights aspects of the electoral process. The Centre has also prepared a handbook entitled "Human Rights and Elections", available to all agencies involved in electoral assistance and to interested Member States. The Centre is now considering a training programme on human rights for electoral assistance officers from the Department of Political Affairs, the Department for Development Support and Management Services, and from UNDP. Operationally, the Unit and the Centre have organized joint missions and have closely coordinated their activities in Malawi and other countries. Officers of the Centre for Human Rights are expected to participate in future missions organized by the Electoral Assistance Unit to assess needs in countries whose Governments are concerned by the human rights aspects of elections.

14. Consultations between the Electoral Assistance Unit and major United Nations missions has improved considerably over the last year. When the Unit was established in 1992, UNAVEM II and UNTAC had already been established. Since UNOVER, ONUMOZ, ONUSAL, ONUMIL were created after the Unit was established, however, it was involved in the initial assessment of their needs, in the design of their electoral components and in the selection of their electoral personnel. It has provided support on electoral matters in the initial stages of missions. Under-Secretary-General Jonah has maintained close political oversight of electoral developments affecting those missions. The Chief Electoral Officer of UNOVER was a staff member from the Unit. For ONUSAL, the Unit conducted a three-day briefing session to discuss operational plans for verifying the election. It will also participate in training the observers of ONUSAL. It is expected that the Unit will similarly support ONUMOZ and ONUMIL at the appropriate time. For all of the missions, the Unit will maintain close contact with their electoral components and support them as necessary.

B. Coordination with other organizations

15. The United Nations Conference on Coordination of International Assistance in the Electoral Field, held in Ottawa from 5 to 8 October 1992, resulted in the establishment of an electoral assistance information computer network by the United Nations Electoral Assistance Unit. The first network report, covering about 75 per cent of electoral assistance activities by other organizations, was issued at the end of June 1993. A new version with current information will be prepared at the end of the year. The network and its widely distributed report have proved very useful for avoiding duplication and informing all relevant organizations about each other's activities. The contacts established through

the network, together with the experience of cooperating in field activities, have reinforced and facilitated coordination between these organizations and the United Nations.

16. Officers from the Unit participated in coordination seminars and workshops organized by the Carter Centre, the Foreign Office of the Government of the United Kingdom, and by the International Electoral Institute Commission, sponsored by the Government of Sweden. The Electoral Assistance Unit, in cooperation with other organizations, is organizing an African Election Administration Colloquium that will bring together African election administrators and representatives of other organizations involved in electoral assistance. Although the main subject of the Colloquium is to review and explore common challenges to the organization of elections, it will provide a valuable opportunity to discuss additional coordination activities.

17. The Electoral Assistance Unit has established good working relationships with such regional organizations as the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Organization of American States (OAS) and the European Community (EC). This increased contact and exchange of information has facilitated greater cooperation and coordination of efforts in the field. The cordial relationship established with OAS during the operations in Nicaragua and Haiti is expected to continue. The EC has contributed significantly to United Nations electoral assistance activities in various countries through financial support and the sponsorship of international observers. In September 1993, representatives of OAU and the United Nations met to discuss areas for increased cooperation, including electoral assistance.

C. United Nations Trust Fund for Electoral Observation

18. The United Nations Trust Fund for Electoral Observation, established in compliance with General Assembly resolution 46/137, has received a total of $569,069 1/ from the following Member States: Austria, Denmark, Iceland, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and United Kingdom. In addition, two Member States have pledged their contribution to the Fund (Japan and Germany). The Trust Fund has been used to finance a coordination and support mission and a number of needs-assessment and preparatory missions. In the coming year, the Unit expects to use the Trust Fund further to enhance its activities both before and after elections. Canada has made substantial contributions in kind to the activities of the Electoral Assistance Unit by financing the participation of consultants and experts in several missions.

D. Roster of experts

19. As requested by the General Assembly in resolution 46/137, the Unit has established a roster of international experts. A list of individuals with previous mission experience was expanded by adding experts and specialists from compilations by other institutions or recommended by Member States. The roster is constantly being expanded and developed through ongoing consultation and contacts with other institutions and organizations and, most notably, through contacts in the field. To date, the roster includes specialists and experts in civic education, logistics, training, informatics, law and demographics. The

roster also includes people with extensive experience in observing elections and in coordinating international observation activities.

E. Institutional memory

20. The General Assembly, in resolution 46/137 requested that the United Nations transform its experience with electoral assistance into an institutional memory. This has been a constant concern of the Electoral Assistance Unit, which has carefully followed and retrieved all relevant information from the electoral assistance activities of United Nations missions and projects, and from non-governmental organizations. Recognizing the special importance of the electoral activities of UNTAC, the Unit sent a team to Cambodia to recover information on useful approaches and procedures which might be applicable to similar missions in the future. The wealth of information the United Nations collected has greatly strengthened its substantive support to observation missions and technical assistance projects.

III. ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE PROVIDED BY THE UNITED NATIONS

A. Major United Nations missions

1. United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia

21. The Security Council, by its resolution 745 (1992) of 14 February 1992, established the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), and entrusted to it the task of carrying out the Paris Agreement of 23 October 1991 on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict. The primary task of UNTAC under the Agreements was to hold free and fair elections to establish a 120-member Constituent Assembly. This would be the first step towards the forming of a new Government of Cambodia based on the will of the Cambodian people (Paris Agreement, Part II, Articles 13, 14 and 15).

22. The United Nations for the first time went beyond supervising and monitoring and with UNTAC was entrusted with the comprehensive organization and conduct of elections. The electoral process progressed largely according to the schedule laid down in the Secretary-General's implementation plan of 19 February 1992. 2/ This set forth in detail the UNTAC Electoral Component's multiple responsibilities, which included the establishment of a legal framework for the holding of elections, civic education and training, the registration of voters, the formation and registration of political parties, polling, vote tabulation, verification, and the compilation of election results.

23. Some 4.7 million Cambodians (96 per cent of the estimated eligible population) registered between 5 October 1992 and 31 January 1993. Twenty formally registered political parties participated in the six weeks of electoral campaigning immediately before the elections, which took place from 23 to 28 May 1993 in all 21 provinces of Cambodia. Close to 4.27 million voters, representing 89.56 per cent of those eligible, turned out to cast their ballots in 1,600 polling stations throughout the country. Each polling station was directed by one Cambodian Presiding Officer, who was supported and assisted by one international polling station officer. Some 1,000 international polling

station officers from 30 countries were given training before their service. The recruitment and training of over 50,000 local Cambodian electoral staff completed the staffing of the polling stations. The success of those arrangements, the high voter turnout, the relatively limited disruption and the security provided by UNTAC Military and Civilian Police components throughout the elections enabled the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to ratify the results and declare the conduct of the elections as having been free and fair (see S/25913, annex II). 3/

2. United Nations Angola Verification Mission II

24. During the final phase of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM), 400 electoral observers from 90 countries were deployed in two-person teams throughout the country to observe and verify the voting. They visited all 18 provinces, most of the 164 municipalities, and about 4,000 of the 6,000 polling stations. According to the results announced on 17 October 1992, more than 91 per cent of the registered voters had voted in the legislative and presidential elections. The Movimento Popular para a Libertacao de Angola (MPLA) won the legislative elections with 53.74 per cent of the votes, against 34.1 per cent for the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). In the presidential elections, President José Eduardo dos Santos won with 49.57 per cent, as against Mr. Jonas Savimbi's 40.07 per cent. According to the Electoral Law, a second round of Presidential elections was required, since neither candidate had achieved an absolute majority.

25. Later the same day, the United Nations declared the first round of Presidential elections to have been generally free and fair, despite some deficiencies and irregularities. This statement was subsequently supported by a number of Member States, OAU and the EC. The President of UNITA, however, claimed massive and systematic fraud and refused to accept the election results. Violent incidents escalated during the following weeks, culminating in intensive fighting, particularly in Luanda. Despite national and international efforts to contain the violence, the political and military situation continued to deteriorate. To all intent and purposes, Angola returned to civil war. While the electoral component of UNAVEM II has been dismantled, essential staff of the mission remain in Angola and continue their efforts, led by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, to find a lasting solution.

3. United Nations Observer Mission to Verify the Referendum in Eritrea

26. The General Assembly, in its resolution 47/114 of 16 December 1992, authorized, by consensus, the establishment of the United Nations Observer Mission to Verify the Referendum in Eritrea (UNOVER). Headed by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, the UNOVER core team consisted of 21 international staff representing 16 nationalities. A staff member of the Electoral Assistance Unit was appointed Chief Electoral Officer.

27. UNOVER started the verification of registration and the referendum campaign in January 1993 from its Headquarters in Asmara and from three regional offices, in Asmara, Keren and Mendefera. For the last phase of the Referendum, from 12

to 25 April 1993, 86 observers joined the UNOVER core team to observe and verify the vote and the counting. A quick count exercise was organized. During the three days of the Referendum, from 23 to 25 April 1993, UNOVER teams covered almost all of the 1,012 polling stations throughout the country. UNOVER also organized 10 teams in Ethiopia and 12 teams in the Sudan to observe the vote by expatriate Eritreans. In other overseas locations, the United Nations system assisted with observation.

28. All observers reported that the Referendum was conducted in an orderly and lawful manner. On 27 April 1993, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General officially announced that, "... the referendum process in Eritrea can be considered to have been free and fair at every stage, and that it has been conducted to my satisfaction". 4/

4. United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador

29. The Security Council, by its resolution 832 (1993), enlarged the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) to include observation of the electoral process. The elections in El Salvador, scheduled for 24 March 1994, include presidential, legislative, municipal and Central American Parliament elections. After decades of war, the Peace Agreement signed by the Government and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMNL) provides that the latter will participate in these elections for the first time.

30. The mandate of the Electoral Division of ONUSAL was outlined by the Secretary-General in his report of 21 May 1993. 5/ The Electoral Division was established in August 1993 and has begun to observe registration activities. The first report on the activities of the Electoral Division was presented by the Secretary-General to the Security Council on 20 October 1993 (S/26606). 6/

31. A mission organized by the Electoral Assistance Unit prepared the operational plan for the deployment of the Electoral Division. Since then the Unit has contributed to the selection of electoral monitors and supported the Division as required. A further Electoral Assistance Unit mission in late November 1993 will contribute to the training of electoral observers. Later, the Unit will arrange coordination with other international observers for the last phase of the electoral process. UNDP is providing substantial support to the Electoral Tribunal through a technical assistance project, whose costs are shared by several donors.

5. United Nations Operation in Mozambique

32. The General Peace Agreement for Mozambique of 4 October 1992 7/ and Security Council resolution 782 (1992) of 16 December 1992, provided that the United Nations would oversee compliance with its terms, including monitoring the entire process of the proposed presidential and legislative elections. In support of the United Nations Operations in Mozambique (ONUMOZ), the Electoral Assistance Unit organized a technical mission to assess requirements for the monitoring. Based on the mission's findings, the Secretary-General proposed, in his report to the General Assembly (A/47/881/Add.1, para. 23) that the Electoral

Division of ONUMOZ include up to 148 international electoral officers. These would be supported by an appropriate number of United Nations volunteers and international and local support staff. A total of 1,200 international observers are expected to observe the final phase of the elections.

33. As required by the General Peace Agreement, the Government of Mozambique distributed a draft Electoral Law to the Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana (RENAMO) and other political parties. A multi-party conference, sponsored by the Government, is to discuss the draft in detail before the Government submits it for approval to the Assembly of the Republic. The National Electoral Commission would be established thereafter. The discussions on the draft Electoral Law continued longer than expected. During the meeting in October with the President of Mozambique and the President of RENAMO, however, the disagreement over the composition of the Electoral Commission was resolved and a target date for its establishment was set.

34. According to Security Council resolution 797 (1992) of 16 December 1992, the United Nations will coordinate technical assistance for the entire electoral process. In November and December 1992, a joint mission of the United Nations and the EC travelled to Maputo to develop a project for United Nations coordination of integrated support to the electoral process, to assist the Government in preparing for it and to revise the overall electoral budget. The integrated support project began in July 1993 and is being implemented by the Department for Development Support and Management Services.

6. United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia

35. The Security Council, by its resolution 866 (1993) of 22 September 1993, the Security Council decided to establish the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) under its authority and directed by the Secretary-General through his Special Representative. UNOMIL was given a comprehensive mandate to observe the cease-fire agreement and other elements of the Peace Agreement signed by the three Liberian parties in Cotonou on 25 July 1993. 8/ One element of its mandate is "to observe and verify the election process, including the legislative and presidential elections to be held in accordance with the provisions of the Peace Agreement" (Security Council resolution 866 (1993) para. 3 (c)). The electoral component of UNOMIL will consist of 13 Professional staff and 40 United Nations volunteers. During the voting period, an estimated 200 observers would be deployed throughout the country for monitoring and verification.

36. I noted in my report that the timetable set by the Peace Agreement for general and presidential elections by February/March 1994 would be "very tight, although not impossible". 9/ The Liberian Electoral Commission, responsible for organizing and holding elections, has not yet been established, nor has its Executive Director nor all its members been nominated. Once the Commission is operational, the Electoral Component of UNOMIL will begin its activities. It will have to address such key issues as the registration of the estimated 1 to 1.2 million eligible voters, voting by refugees and internally displaced persons, the definition of constituencies, and freedom of movement by voters.

7. United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara

37. The Security Council, in its resolution 809 (1993) of 2 March 1993, requested preparations for organizing a referendum of self-determination for the people of Western Sahara. It urged that voter registration begin promptly, starting with an updated list of persons included in the 1974 census. In response, I appointed the Chairman of the Identification Commission in May 1993. He immediately travelled to Rabat, Laayoune, Tindouf, Algiers and Nouakchott to begin preparations for identifying and registering voters. A team of registration officers arrived in Laayoune in June 1993 and have since continued the preparations. At my direction, there are intensive discussions with the parties, Morocco and the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Rio de Oro (Frente POLISARIO) on methods for thorough and judicious identification and registration.

B. Coordination and support missions

38. The options for electoral observation discussed in my last report included follow and report, usually by the Resident Representative and coordination and support for international observers sponsored by various governments and organizations. A primary purpose of coordination and support is to create an effective and integrated observer network out of a number of small international delegations. This is relatively economical, requires less lead-time than other forms of international observation, and shares financial and personnel costs among all participating sponsors. In each case, the United Nations provides a small secretariat, which serves as the coordinating centre for international observers on election day. Logistic and administrative support for the observers is usually provided by a UNDP project supported by interested donors.

39. The United Nations first used this approach in Ethiopia in June 1992. Since then, it has been increasingly adopted. In the Niger, 120 observers were coordinated. In Kenya, an officer from the Electoral Assistance Unit led a team which coordinated 54 international observers. This was supplemented by other representatives from the international diplomatic community not accredited by the Government as international observers. During the national elections in Lesotho, the Joint International Observer Group consisted of 130 international observers. Similar arrangements created effective cooperation between international observers and the United Nations in observing elections in Burundi, the Congo and Djibouti.

40. Although the coordination and support approach has many financial and organizational advantages, one disadvantage has been the almost exclusive focus of observers on the events of a single election day. If observation is limited to election day only, the preceding general climate and conditions are very difficult to assess from secondary sources. Normally, the character of the pre-election period greatly influences the electoral campaign and actual conduct of the poll. Experience with coordination and support missions suggests that longer-term observation will benefit the electoral process as it occurs and also provide a more realistic assessment of overall progress towards greater democratization.

41. In Malawi, coordination and support was adapted and applied for the first time to create an extended electoral mission. A United Nations Electoral Assistance Secretariat (UNEAS) was established almost three months before referendum day. Observer coverage began with registration, continued through the campaign and concluded with the conduct of the referendum.

42. The five basic tasks of UNEAS were the coordination of international observers, technical advice and assistance to the National Referendum Commission, poll-worker training and civic education. In late May, the Secretariat also assumed responsibility for the procurement of referendum materials, as a decision that month to use a single ballot box resulted in additional logistic and material requirements. The initial staff of UNEAS consisted of a Coordinator from the Electoral Assistance Unit and a Logistics Consultant. Five additional professional staff arrived at the end of April and the beginning of May. Those experts, provided by a non-governmental organization, were responsible for civic education and poll-worker training. The first observers arrived 12 April in order to observe registration. As additional observers arrived and departed over the next two months, deployments visited the country's three regions, as required. The number of observers present varied from 16 during the April registration period to over 210 on the referendum date. The UNEAS Coordinator used observer reports during the registration and campaign periods to monitor referendum preparations. She noted particular concerns and considerations based on international practice and consulted, as appropriate, the Chairman of the Referendum Commission, the Referendum Supervisor and other relevant officials.

43. The longer-term observation allowed for more realistic assessment of the electoral process, as well as for technical advice and assistance at various stages. It also gave the United Nations the opportunity for occasional facilitation or mediation in which both sides could discuss particular aspects of referendum preparation. That role was particularly significant for discussions concerning the crucial questions of the referendum date and the ballot box system to be used. The United Nations Resident Coordinator provided critical support at all stages of the operation, particularly in facilitating discussion between Government and opposition at crucial junctures and in coordinating donor assistance.

44. The Malawi experience provides a useful precedent for future electoral assistance provided by the United Nations. The operation was very cost-effective. Moreover, UNEAS, as an extended United Nations presence, had the time to develop active and constructive working relationships with government and electoral officials, the donor community and other interested parties.

C. Follow and report approach

45. On 19 February 1992, the Government of Cameroon requested United Nations assistance for the legislative elections to take place on 1 March. Since the lead time was exceedingly short, the Resident Coordinator of the United Nations in Cameroon was asked to follow the electoral process and report to the Secretary-General on its outcome.

46. On the basis of the results in Cameroon, this "follow and report," approach has been used in subsequent similar cases where the lead time was too short to allow adequate chronological or geographical coverage of the electoral process. The purpose of this approach is to lend, when no other alternative is possible, the largely symbolic presence of the United Nations to the creation of confidence and to support democratization. Since my last report, we have responded in this way to requests from seven Member States. In some of these cases, there was enough time to send a political affairs officer or a consultant to assist the Resident Coordinator.

D. Technical assistance and advisory services

47. Between 16 October 1992 and 15 October 1993, the United Nations provided technical assistance or advisory services in 21 cases, as compared with 14 cases the previous year. In addition, the range of all technical assistance activities has expanded to include such fields as electoral organization, training, civic education, informatics, communications, logistics and electoral law.

48. Twenty of these cases have involved UNDP. Such involvement has ranged from small-scale projects funded through the Indicative Planning Figures for the country, to large-scale projects involving cost-sharing arrangements with several donors. In a few specific cases - Eritrea, Malawi and Mozambique - the UNDP has taken a leading role in coordinating the various types of technical assistance provided. UNDP/OPS has been involved in the implementation of projects in Togo and Chad.

49. In the past year, the Centre for Human Rights has provided technical legal assistance and advisory services to several countries. In Lesotho, the Centre organized a seminar on free and fair elections and human rights in a democratic society, held immediately before the elections of January 1993. As a contribution to the Government's civic education campaign, the Centre arranged for the preparation of an audio-recorded drama play in two languages, developed around the theme of elections and human rights in Lesotho. In Cambodia, the Centre assisted in pre-election public information activities by arranging for translation of human rights material into Khmer and its distribution throughout the country. In the case of Malawi, the Centre participated in the initial needs-assessment mission before the referendum. It also fielded a mission immediately after the referendum to identify the continuing needs of the democratic transition in Malawi.

50. The Department for Development and Support and Management Services, in the past year, received and responded to requests from 10 Member States for technical assistance in electoral administration. The Department fielded experts or teams of consultants, under technical assistance projects, in order to assist in modernizing and updating electoral registers, drafting electoral laws, preparing electoral budgets and in civic education efforts, logistics, and the training of officials involved in administering elections. Staff members of the Department also participated in a number of missions organized by the Department of Political Affairs. These included a preparatory mission to determine the feasibility of deploying a United Nations mission to Liberia and to assist in the coordination of international observers there, and missions to

Togo and Sierra Leone to follow their electoral processes and to report on the respective conduct and outcome.

IV. REVIEW OF EXPERIENCE

A. General experience with democratization processes

51. There have been both successes and failures in the past year. As I pointed out in my last report, "given the lack of a democratic tradition in many of the countries requesting electoral assistance from the United Nations, it cannot always be assumed that the choice of the electorate will in all cases be respected" (A/47/668, para. 69). The Government of Haiti, chosen in elections verified by both the United Nations and the Organization of American States, was overthrown by a military coup. One of the competing sides in Angola has refused to accept the results of elections that the United Nations and the international community recognized as free and fair. The country is again tormented by civil war, which is claiming over a thousand human lives per day.

52. Electoral experience in the past year, however, has also resulted in significant progress. Despite such experiences as Haiti and Angola there are bright spots and a basis for hope in many other cases. A number of Member States have taken important steps towards increased democracy and its institutionalization. The long-struggling people of Cambodia now have an elected Government, a constitution drafted by representatives of the people, and the real possibility of peace and development. In Eritrea, the assistance of the United Nations in its April referendum contributed significantly to the birth of a nation fully recognized by the international community. The choice of a multi-party political system was overwhelmingly supported by the people of Malawi in a referendum for which the United Nations was a significant presence. In Lesotho, the Niger and other countries, the United Nations provided supportive assistance to elections which gave citizens an opportunity to choose their Governments. Most significantly, the United Nations continues to receive numerous requests for electoral assistance.

53. In my last report, I posed several questions which have become even more relevant with the events of the past year:

> "If the United Nations certifies that an election was free and fair and therefore the result must be considered valid, does it have a responsibility to follow implementation of the election results? Are there safeguards which might be included within United Nations electoral verification activities in order to address such situations?" (A/47/668, para. 69).

The cases of Haiti and Angola produced examples of the actual reaction of the international community to real versions of the situations posed in those hypothetical questions. No State Member of the United Nations has recognized the legitimacy of the current Haitian regime, and the United Nations and the Organization of American States have devoted persistent, constant and significant efforts to the restoration to power of President Aristide. Concerning Angola, the Security Council has already adopted a resolution imposing an arms and oil embargo on UNITA. With the Council's support, my

Special Representative and I continue to work with Angolans in the search for a satisfactory solution to the situation which has followed verification of the elections.

54. The derailing of democratization after free and fair elections and the consequent negative reactions should, however, be regarded as exceptions. The main objective of the United Nations should be to support democratization to persist and to consolidate. To that end, it is important to provide assistance not only before and during elections, but afterwards as well. I will request Under-Secretary-General Jonah and the Electoral Assistance Unit to continue to assist democratization through coordinating and, as necessary, borrowing support and expertise from relevant operational units and programmes. Responding to requests from newly elected authorities, missions might discuss with them the design of programmes, adapted to the circumstances and characteristics of each country, which could contribute to consolidating democratization. Such programmes should emphasize creating and strengthening the institutions and processes that are essential for developing the open and pluralistic societies which form the basis for democratic governments.

55. As pointed out in my report to the General Assembly at its forty-sixth session, we should not forget that, although "political pluralism is increasingly evident in recent years, yet accelerated economic development is necessary to provide the underpinning required for the consolidation of genuine participatory democracy, in which socio-economic as well as political rights are respected" (A/46/609 and Corr.1, para. 75). Particularly at times when new political problems are blurring the complex interrelationships of political development and economic development, and when developing countries feel their economic progress being threatened by "donor fatigue", it is absolutely vital that the international community should give the firm support to economic development which is indispensable to democratization.

B. Evaluation of guidelines

56. My report to the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session included guidelines for the different types of electoral assistance provided by the United Nations. It pointed out that those guidelines were subject to revision and refinement as the United Nations acquired further experience in this field. The General Assembly, in its resolution A/47/138, recommended that these be evaluated and their validity assessed in the light of the experience acquired over the following two years. It further requested that a report on that experience be presented to the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session.

57. The 20 months since the appointment of Under-Secretary-General Jonah as the United Nations focal point and the creation of the Electoral Assistance Unit have been a valuable learning period. During that time, the Unit and its partners have been involved in a large number of electoral processes. Through relationships established and contacts with other organizations active in the field, it has received reports and information on many others. This further experience has allowed the testing and evaluation of premises and assumptions presented in my earlier report.

58. As each case has its own individual characteristics, learning will continue as new needs and challenges arise. However, there are many lessons from past experiences that are now part of institutional memory. Those will contribute to better United Nations responses to future requests. Several of the premises elaborated earlier merit reiteration today; new recommendations can also be presented in light of more recent experience. These are summarized in the following section.

1. Conditions for United Nations involvement

59. As I pointed out in my last report, "one fundamental ingredient must clearly be present: the political will of the involved parties to use elections as a peaceful means of resolving intractable situations" (A/47/668, para. 68). In the absence of this will, no amount of resources, whenever provided, will produce the desired result. Before deciding to provide electoral assistance, the United Nations must be sure that all participants in the election are committed to the next steps. The will to coexist in a pluralistic society is demonstrated not just by deciding to hold elections, but also by many other elements. These include the fairness of the electoral rules, willingness for dialogue and compromise, determination to abide by the results, opportunities for opposition parties to be heard fully and freely, the eventual establishment and effective implementation of codes of conduct for the electoral campaign, creation and maintenance of the right environment to support free and fair elections and respect for basic human rights. It is important to note that most of the requests have been from countries where such a set of elements already existed, even if they were not fully effective. In such cases, the United Nations presence is perceived not only as a guarantee for smooth and successful elections, but also as a positive way to reinforce and to consolidate a firm transition towards democracy.

60. To ascertain and encourage political will, the United Nations must take a series of steps. Governments must make early requests, so that carefully organized preparatory and needs-assessment missions can be sent. (In fact, experience has shown that last-minute requests may indicate a lack of real commitment to a truly free and fair election.) If the results of these missions are favourable, and the Government agrees, electoral assistance can then be arranged with the adequate time and full coverage of the entire country that success requires. These arrangements should lay the foundation for future support to democratization. This should include preparing for a follow-up mission immediately after the voting. That mission would discuss with the new authorities potential programmes and activities to sustain, strengthen and pursue the progress towards democratization begun by the elections.

2. Value of international observation over time

61. As already noted in the case of Malawi (paras. 40-43), the experience of the last year suggests that sending large numbers of international observers for a few days immediately before and after the polling date may not always be the best use of resources. Initial stages, such as the registration of voters or the electoral campaign, are often as important as the conduct of the actual voting. A review of electoral processes in recent years indicates that, of the

elections which the United Nations has assisted, there are very few with fraud or massive irregularities on election day. Most of the problems in specific elections have come from pre-election events or the lack of basic conditions for a free and fair electoral process, such as the freedoms of association, assembly, expression and movement, and favourable political, social and psychological circumstances. Many of the problems or irregularities occur at local levels, and are not easily detected by short-term observers. Adequate coverage geographically and over time is essential for a well-founded opinion on the freedom and fairness of an election.

3. Importance of periodic assessment and reporting on electoral processes

62. There is a general expectation that the outcome of an observation or verification mission will be a short phrase stating that the electoral process was "free and fair", sometimes qualifying the verdict with a carefully chosen adverb. The attempt to capture in a short phrase a complex multidimensional phenomenon, however, might result in a misleading or incomplete statement. The "freedom and fairness" of an electoral process depend on many factors. These include a well-rounded set of rules which provide an adequate legal framework for the electoral process; impartiality of the electoral authorities at all levels; the opportunity for all citizens to compete for elective positions; effective freedom of association, assembly, expression and movement; a psychological, political, and social climate favourable to free and fair elections; fair and effective provisions for voter registration; effective procedures for polling and counting to prevent fraudulent practices and respect the secrecy of the vote; appropriate methods for processing complaints, petitions and appeals; adequate access to the media by candidates and parties; a public properly informed of why, where, when and how to vote; and the necessary access by representatives of opposition parties to all stages of the electoral process.

63. The "free and fair" concept can serve to describe an election where there has been no significant violation of any of the basic criteria. Conversely, it can identify problems which are so serious as to require a statement that an election failed to be free and fair. A short statement based on a few very fundamental standards, however, cannot fairly describe situations in which different positive and negative developments are balanced overall. Such an appraisal will also neglect cultural or other special circumstances such as an apparent departure from established electoral practices which is clearly justified by the peculiarities of a given situation or by traditionally accepted customs. Moreover, periodic reporting by an observation mission throughout the entire electoral process may help the electoral authorities to detect and solve existing problems. It is therefore important that adequate and comprehensive reporting, as well as evaluations which are more disaggregated, become important parts of election observation procedures.

4. The significance of timing for electoral assistance

64. The timing of electoral assistance is often critical not only to the success of an election, but also to the overall progress of peace-keeping and

post-conflict institution-building. In the case of major peace-keeping missions, it is essential that the various components of the peace process be effectively synchronized. An electoral process carried out before the parties have demobilized and disarmed may in fact result in further conflict.

65. Timing is also crucial for more specific electoral assistance activities. In order to provide effective assistance, the United Nations focal point must receive requests from Member States early enough for a coordinated and focused response. Electoral assistance usually requires careful planning which is tailored to the specific needs of the Member State. This requires consultation with government officials and recruitment of appropriate experts, and mission deployment. Without advance notice, the United Nations may not be in a position to provide the desired assistance.

66. Timing is also important in establishing a clear and reasonable schedule of electoral events leading to election day. The legitimacy of an electoral process depends largely on sufficient time for activities such as registration, the organization of political parties and civic education. Although the timetable may vary somewhat from one country to another, the activities to be undertaken prior to an election are fairly standard, and the time they will take can be generally predicted. Elections held without enough time for preparation may be fundamentally jeopardized. The significance of elections lies not simply in their result, or in their having taken place, but in the long-term impetus towards greater democratization made cumulatively by all the steps in the holding of elections.

67. The importance of timing is therefore apparent from three major perspectives: (a) for the success of a broader peacemaking effort, (b) to allow the United Nations to respond to requests for assistance in an appropriate and effective manner, and (c) to ensure that elections are not an end in themselves, but a final phase in a particular series of activities towards increased democratization.

5. The role of national observers

68. The small number of polling stations in Namibia permitted the United Nations to attach more than one observer to each, thus allowing a total and permanent coverage of events. The number of polling stations and the resources available in most other countries where the United Nations has verified the elections has made it necessary to use alternative approaches. Verification is conducted by mobile teams that visit several polling stations, observe the development of voting during their presence, and interview polling station officials, party poll-watchers and national monitors about eventual irregularities that might have occurred beforehand. The presence and active participation of party poll-watchers and/or national monitors is therefore an essential component of the approach. Accordingly, it is indispensable for the overall success of the operation that the deployment of national observers not be unduly restricted and that they receive adequate training and support. Although this task has traditionally been fulfilled by non-governmental organizations active in the electoral field, the United Nations should stand ready to support their programmes when necessary.

6. The cost of electoral verification

69. The cost of major missions has been and will continue to be a major concern. Thus, using over 450 United Nations volunteers as District Electoral Supervisors in Cambodia was considered a very successful experiment in controlling costs, which will be repeated in other missions. Both UNOMOZ and UNOMIL will use United Nations volunteers as electoral monitors who will follow registration and electoral campaign. The experiences obtained in Nicaragua, Haiti, Angola, Eritrea and Cambodia will contribute to improved and more efficient planning and decision-making, as well as to identifying more cost-effective methods for future operations. The Electoral Assistance Unit has maintained an inventory of the useful elements from those experiences and is now preparing operational guidelines on cost-saving for the general organization and implementation of verification missions.

70. The growing interest of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations offers valuable opportunities to share resources for specific situations, such as financing, information, logistics and personnel, provided that these are effectively coordinated. This sharing and coordination can support the long-term and broad geographical coverage of an electoral process, the benefits of which have just been described. For example, in Malawi a low-cost operation based on voluntary contributions and the involvement of the international community in Malawi and the region also allowed broad geographical and chronological coverage of the electoral process. We will therefore make every effort in each case to achieve this coordination so as to ensure those benefits to the host country.

71. To that end, the exchange of information among such organizations can be a first and useful step. For each case, however, there must be, wherever possible, a method of coordinated planning and deployment, and a common approach to the collection of information during observation. While each participating organization should maintain complete freedom in reporting to its constituency, ample opportunity exists for logistic and other common arrangements which might benefit all participants. Although such collaboration is not always easy, particularly given the importance attached by most organizations to their institutional autonomy, we intend to continue our efforts to replicate the positive experiences this year in Malawi, Lesotho and the Niger.

7. Reconsideration of the follow and report approach

72. Although the follow and report approach is the least intrusive form of United Nations electoral assistance, it can result in controversy or a degree of risk. This approach may require the Resident Coordinator to have some considerable technical expertise in electoral matters. As a limited observation, it does not necessarily contribute to the conduct of a legitimate election. Moreover, it may endanger the ongoing relationships of the Resident Coordinator with Government or the opposition groups in two ways. Since, under the follow and report procedure the United Nations does not issue a public report or statement, all sides in an election tend to see this approach as either useless or provocative. A further consideration is the status of the Resident Coordinator as a public figure who is often seen or heard in the national media. The neutrality of the Resident Coordinator might be jeopardized

if he or she were required simultaneously to observe an election on behalf of the Secretary-General and to refrain from making public comments.

73. It is clear that the follow and report approach may have limited usefulness for the country holding elections. Moreover, the findings presented in the previous section establish the value of operations which provide more extensive coverage geographically and in time. Accordingly, in the future we will evaluate carefully the practicality in each case of the follow and report procedure. When a request for assistance arrives without sufficient lead time, the United Nations will continue to follow and support electoral developments and democratization with great interest. The procedures for gathering information and evaluation in those cases, however, will be developed individually and will not necessarily involve the Resident Coordinator.

8. Fostering international cooperation and collaboration for long-term progress toward democratization

74. All forms of technical assistance should be concerned with sustainability and transfer of knowledge. This applies to electoral assistance just as it does to all other aspects of development. For example, potential support for first-time competitive elections might involve implementing agencies, external consultants, and financial and material support. However, such support should go beyond contributing to the solution of the problems of first-time elections. It should constitute the backbone for the institutionalization and consolidation of electoral institutions so that they can administer future electoral processes with minimum external support. Accordingly, electoral "technologies" should be adapted to local conditions and use local resources as much as possible.

V. CONCLUSIONS - LEARNING FROM EXPERIENCE

The unique position of the United Nations for providing electoral assistance

75. Over the past year, the United Nations has increasingly been called on for electoral advice and assistance. This is demonstrated by the continuing high volume of requests for assistance received from Member States, and the increasing number of organizations and institutions participating in the Electoral Assistance Information Network coordinated by the Electoral Assistance Unit. With its growing track record of assistance to Member States in the electoral field, the United Nations has gained significant international recognition of its capabilities and unique potential as a source of international support and coordination.

76. Based on the experience of the past year in generating greater international support for and cooperation in the provision of electoral assistance, the United Nations Electoral Assistance Unit will seek to strengthen its coordinating role. It will also further develop its own capacity to provide effective and dedicated electoral assistance based on specific requests from Member States. Universal membership and the wide range of electoral expertise and support which the United Nations is able to summon have given the Organization increasing recognition as uniquely capable of providing effective

electoral assistance as requested, both specifically to the conduct of an election and for the broader process of democratization.

Notes

1/ The sum of $311,500.00 was allotted specifically to Eritrea.

2/ S/23613, paras. 23-51.

3/ S/25913, annex II.

4/ "Text of announcement on the Referendum in Eritrea".

5/ S/25812.

6/ S/26606.

7/ S/24635 and Corr.1, annex II.

8/ S/26272, annex.

9/ S/26422, para. 33.

ANNEX

Status of Member States' requests as of 16 October 1993

The electoral assistance activities of the United Nations between 17 October 1992 and 16 October 1993, including activities undertaken during that period in response to requests received before 17 October 1992, are set forth below according to country.

ANGOLA

Request: Under the Estoril Agreements of May 1991, the United Nations was requested to verify the electoral process in Angola.

Action taken: After the legislative and the first round of the Presidential elections, which took place on 29 and 30 September 1992, the electoral component of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM) remained in the country in order to prepare for the second round of Presidential elections. Owing to civil unrest after the first round, however, the electoral component was dismissed. The activities of UNAVEM II after October 1992 are set forth in detail in the following Security Council reports: S/25140 and Add.1, S/25840 and Add.1, S/26060 and Add.1 and 2, and S/26434 and Add.1. (See document A/47/668 and Corr.1 for activities undertaken up to 16 October 1992.)

ARGENTINA

Request: In September 1992, the Government requested the extension of a previous technical assistance project to improve the electoral organization, to be co-shared by the Government and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

Action taken: A consultant was sent to the country on two occasions to evaluate the accomplishments of the project and to collaborate in formulating a new version. Additional support was provided for a "quick count" exercise during the October 1993 elections.

AZERBAIJAN

Request: On 16 August 1993, the Government of Azerbaijan invited the United Nations to send observers for the Referendum scheduled for 29 August 1993.

Action taken: The United Nations declined the invitation owing to, among other reasons, the lack of lead time.

BURUNDI

Request: In December 1992, the Government sent a general request for electoral assistance and, in February 1993, presented a specific request for technical assistance in the field of training and for funds for electoral equipment for the general elections.

On 5 May 1993, the Government sent a further request for United Nations assistance in the coordination of the international observation of the elections.

Action taken: Towards the end of May 1993, a United Nations officer and a consultant, funded by the Government of Canada, travelled to Burundi to assist the resident Coordinator in the coordination of international observers for the Presidential elections, which took place on 1 June 1993. The consultant returned to the country for the Legislative elections held on 29 June 1993.

CAMBODIA

Request: As set forth in the Paris Agreements of 23 October 1991, the United Nations was responsible for the organization and conduct of the elections held between 23 and 28 May 1993.

Action taken: The organization and conduct of the elections were completed successfully. The United Nations sent an officer from the Electoral Assistance Unit and a consultant for three weeks in May 1993 in order to retrieve operational information on the experience gained in Cambodia, as part of its function to create an institutional memory of United Nations involvement in electoral matters. UNTAC activities since October 1992 are set forth in detail in the following reports to the Security Council: S/24800, S/24858, S/25124, S/25289 and S/25719, S/25784, S/25913, S/26090, S/26360 and S/26546. (See document A/47/668 and Corr.1 for activities undertaken up to 16 October 1992.)

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Request: In 1992, the Government submitted an initial request to UNDP for financial assistance for the electoral process and for the organization of a "National Debate". After creating an International Committee to supervise the elections, the Government specifically requested UNDP to nominate candidates to join the Committee. On 13 July 1993, the Government subsequently requested the United Nations to send a staff member to coordinate the activities of the international observers.

Action taken: A team composed of an officer of the Electoral Assistance Unit and two consultants was sent to join and support the International Committee. The elections took place on 25 October 1992, but were subsequently annulled by the Supreme Court, and rescheduled for 22 August 1993 (first round) and 12 September 1993 (second round). The Resident Coordinator was requested to follow the electoral process and to report on its conduct and outcome.

CHAD

Request: On 4 December 1992, the Government sent an official request for electoral assistance for the upcoming elections, the date of which has not been determined.

Action taken: The United Nations sent a consultant from January to March 1993 to provide technical assistance to the Government, as well as to observe the National Conference.

COLOMBIA

Request: In 1993, the United Nations received, through UNDP, a request for technical assistance to restructure the electoral organization, the cost of which would be shared by UNDP and the Government.

Action taken: In July 1993, the Director of the Electoral Assistance Unit visited the country to provide advice to the Registraduria Nacional del Estado Civil.

CONGO

Request: On 30 November 1992, after the dissolution of the Parliament, the Government sent a letter to the Secretary-General requesting electoral observers for the Legislative elections, then scheduled to take place on 30 December 1992 and 1 January 1993. On 4 January 1993, the President of the Congo issued a presidential decree establishing an Independent National Commission, inter alia to organize and supervise the forthcoming anticipated legislative elections. In the meantime, the elections were rescheduled for 2 May (first round) and 6 June 1993 (second round). Subsequently, on 7 September 1993, the Government of the Congo sent a letter to the Secretary-General requesting observers for the second round of the Legislative elections scheduled for 3 October 1993.

Action taken: The United Nations sent an officer of the Electoral Assistance Unit and a consultant, funded by the Government of Canada, to assist the Resident Coordinator in coordinating the activities of the international observers in the first round of elections. The same consultant returned to the country for the second round. Regarding the latest request, the United Nations had to decline the invitation owing to the lack of lead time. (See document A/47/668 and Corr.1 for activities undertaken up to 16 October 1992.)

DJIBOUTI

Request: On 28 November 1992, the Government sent a letter to the Secretary-General requesting electoral observers for the Legislative elections to be held on 18 December 1992. Subsequently, on 30 March 1993, the Minister for Foreign Affairs further requested the Secretary-General to send observers for the Presidential elections scheduled for 7 and 21 May 1993.

Action taken: The Resident Coordinator was instructed to follow the Legislative elections of 18 December 1992, and an officer of the Electoral Assistance Unit was sent to assist her. Regarding the elections of May 1993, the United Nations sent another officer of the Unit to assist the Resident Coordinator in coordinating the international observers.

EL SALVADOR

Request: On 8 January 1993, the Government of El Salvador officially requested United Nations observation "before, during and following" the general elections scheduled for March 1994.

Action taken: The United Nations sent a preparatory mission, headed by the Director of the Electoral Assistance Unit and comprising two other electoral consultants, to prepare the terms of reference of the electoral component of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL). Subsequently, the Secretary-General presented a report to the Security Council (S/25812), recommending the extension and expansion of the mandate of ONUSAL, which was approved by the Security Council in resolution 832 (1993). The deployment of the members of the electoral component of ONUSAL has been completed, and the first report of the electoral mission has been issued (S/26606).

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Request: In April 1993, the Government agreed to receive a high-level political mission, and specifically requested advice in electoral matters. On 15 July 1993, the Government further requested the presence of United Nations observers at the elections scheduled to take place on 12 September 1993.

Action taken: UNDP sent a fact-finding mission to the country, composed of senior officers in the political, electoral and human rights areas. The electoral component of that mission comprised two consultants and a United Nations officer, who travelled to the country in the beginning of April 1993 for two weeks to assess the needs and procedures for holding elections. The team has presented its report. In June 1993, another United Nations officer was sent to the country, under a UNDP project, to assist in the preparation of a Donors' Conference. The officer was joined by a consultant, whose assignment was to assist the authorities in reviewing the electoral rolls and in the preparation of the budget. Regarding the latest request, on 11 August 1993 the Secretary-General answered, stating his willingness to participate in the electoral process by providing coordination and support for a group of international observers, provided that the political

climate in the country becomes conducive to the holding of free and fair elections.

ERITREA

Request: The Referendum Commission of Eritrea, in a letter dated 19 May 1992, requested the United Nations to undertake the verification of the Referendum. The Conference on Peace and Democracy, which assembled all the political parties and relevant social actors in Ethiopia, supported the idea of an internationally supervised referendum.

Action taken: The Secretary-General presented a report to the General Assembly in which he sought a mandate to undertake a verification mission (A/47/544). On 16 December 1992, the Assembly adopted resolution 47/114 authorizing the establishment of United Nations Observer Mission to Verify the Referendum in Eritrea (UNOVER). The mission was inaugurated on 7 January 1993, and was composed of 21 international staff, supported by local personnel. During the Referendum, which took place from 23 to 25 April 1993, 85 additional observers joined the mission and close coordination was established with other observer groups. Other observers followed the voting in Ethiopia, the Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Canada, the United States and several European countries. A quick count of the results was conducted. The activities of UNOVER are set forth in detail in document A/48/283.

ETHIOPIA

Request: In April 1992, the Transitional Government of Ethiopia requested the United Nations to provide technical assistance and to monitor the regional elections to be held on 21 June 1992.

Action taken: In April 1993, the United Nations sent a team composed of two consultants to assist in the organization of the electoral system and to prepare a project proposal for electoral assistance for the national elections, to be held in 1994. The same consultants returned to the country in October 1993 to provide further assistance to the electoral authorities. (See document A/47/668 and Corr.1 for activities undertaken up to 16 October 1992.)

GUINEA

Request: In October 1992, the Government sent a letter to the Secretary-General requesting technical assistance for the Legislative elections initially planned for 27 December 1992. In November 1992, the United Nations received a subsequent request for observers. The elections were later postponed to December 1993.

Action taken: In February 1993, the United Nations sent two consultants to provide technical support to the

electoral authorities. In September 1993, two consultants were sent again, for a period of approximately three months, in order to prepare for the elections tentatively scheduled for December 1993. (See document A/47/668 and Corr.1 for activities undertaken up to 16 October 1992.)

GUINEA-BISSAU

Request: In December 1992, the UNDP Resident Representative informed Headquarters that the Government had requested United Nations assistance for the elections scheduled to take place in 1993.

Action taken: In January 1993, the United Nations sent a team composed of a consultant and a United Nations officer to assess the needs for electoral assistance and to prepare a project document for technical assistance. Under the provisions of the project, the United Nations sent a consultant in March 1993 to assist in the preparation of the electoral budget. During June and July 1993, three consultants (training, civic education and technical adviser) were sent to the country under a technical assistance project implemented by the Department for Development Support and Management Services.

GUYANA

Request: The Government requested UNDP for technical assistance to enhance national capacity for management of the electoral process.

Action taken: After the elections of October 1992, additional technical assistance is being provided for the establishment of a permanent electoral Commission. (See document A/47/668 and Corr.1 for activities undertaken up to 16 October 1992.)

KENYA

Request: On 19 November 1992, the Government of Kenya sent a request for electoral assistance for the Legislative elections held on 29 December 1992.

Action taken: The United Nations sent a team, composed of an officer of the Electoral Assistance Unit and three consultants, two of whom were funded by the Government of Canada, to coordinate a group of 54 international observers during the elections. The team submitted its report accordingly.

LATVIA

Request: On 28 May 1993, the Central Electoral Committee Chairman sent a letter to the Secretary-General inviting him to appoint a Delegation to observe the elections for the Fifth Saeima (Parliament), to be held on 5 and 6 June 1993.

Action taken: Owing to the lack of time, the invitation had to be declined.

LESOTHO

Request: On 15 October 1992, the Government sent a request to the United Nations for support to the General Elections initially scheduled to take place in February 1993, but later postponed to 27 March 1993.

Action taken: The Government was informed that the Resident Coordinator had been instructed to follow and report on the elections. In December, a consultant was sent to Lesotho to assess the assistance required for the organization and coordination of the international observers. In early March, the United Nations sent a team, composed of an officer of the Electoral Assistance Unit, the same consultant and an expert funded by the Government of Canada, to support the Resident Coordinator and to coordinate a group of 130 international observers. (See document A/47/668 and Corr.1 for activities undertaken up to 16 October 1992.)

LIBERIA

Request: On 11 February 1992, the Government sent a letter to the Secretary-General requesting technical and financial assistance, as well as the sending of international observers to follow the electoral process. Subsequently, the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Economic Community of West African States, at its fifteenth session, held in Dakar from 27 to 29 July 1992, invited the Secretary-General to take all necessary steps to facilitate the verification and monitoring of the electoral process in Liberia.

Action taken: In August 1993, the Electoral Assistance Unit designated an officer from the Department for Development Support and Management Services specialized in electoral processes to participate in a preparatory mission to determine the feasibility of deploying a United Nations mission to Liberia, as contained in the Peace Agreement. In September 1993, a needs assessment mission, conducted jointly by the United Nations (an officer from the Department for Development Support and Management Services) and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), went to Liberia for approximately 10 days in order to prepare an estimated budget for the elections in 1994, and to assess the current needs of the electoral commission. (See document A/47/668 and Corr.1 for activities undertaken up to 16 October 1992.)

MADAGASCAR

Request: In 1992, the Government sent to UNDP an initial request for technical assistance. On 15 May 1992, the Government sent a second request for United Nations observation during the electoral process.

Action taken: In November 1992, two United Nations officers went to Madagascar to assist the Resident Coordinator in following the Presidential elections, which took place on 25 November 1992, and to report on its conduct and outcome. The second round of Presidential elections was held on 10 February 1993. The Resident Representative submitted his report, and was subsequently requested to follow the Legislative elections on 16 June 1993. (See document A/47/668 and Corr.1 for activities undertaken up to 16 October 1992.)

MALAWI

Request: On 22 October 1992, the Government sent a request to the United Nations for assistance in conducting a referendum on the issue of a one-party/multi-party system of government. Subsequently, in October 1993, the Secretary-General received a further request from the Government to assist in the mobilization of the international observation of the general elections scheduled to take place in 1994.

Action taken: In November 1992, the United Nations sent a technical mission, composed of the Director of the Electoral Assistance Unit, one officer from the Centre for Human Rights and three consultants. The team submitted its report in December. A second mission by the Director of the Unit and a legal officer from the Centre for Human Rights visited Malawi in January, and submitted two additional reports. The date of the Referendum, initially announced as 15 March 1993, was subsequently postponed to 14 June 1993. In March 1993, according to the provisions of a technical assistance project, the United Nations sent a consultant for one week to assist in the formulation of the budget, as well as a technical team, composed of an officer of the Electoral Assistance Unit, to provide coordination and support to the international observers, and a consultant on logistics, to remain in the country for the entire electoral process. In May 1993, the United Nations sent another specialist to provide advice concerning voting procedures. UNDP was involved in coordinating the material assistance provided by some donors. In June 1993, the Director of the Electoral Assistance Unit returned to the country in order to join the United Nations Electoral Assistance Secretariat, which was coordinating the Joint International Observer Group (JIOG). An expert on "quick-count" procedures was also sent to join the Secretariat team. The Referendum took place on 14 June 1993. On 21 June 1993, the Secretary-General made a statement regarding the Referendum (SG/SM/5050). Subsequently, in July 1993, the Electoral Assistance Unit organized, together with UNDP, a Round Table on Democratic Transition for members of the Presidential Committee on Dialogue and of the

Public Affairs Committee. In August 1993, a mission from the United Nations Centre for Human Rights, comprising one officer and two consultants, visited the country to assess needs related to the promotion, protection and realization of human rights in the context of the transition to a multi-party system. In October 1993, an officer from the Department for Development Support and Management Services was sent to the country to complete the assessment of electoral needs and to produce a project document encompassing both electoral and human rights activities to be developed during the transition period. The latest request from the Government is currently under consideration.

MALI

Request: A request for technical assistance was made through UNDP in September 1991. On 10 February, the Government requested the Secretary-General to verify/observe the electoral process, held in April 1992.

Action taken: In March 1993, the United Nations sent two consultants for three weeks, under the provisions of a technical assistance project, to prepare a global evaluation of the electoral process, and to identify future assistance requirements. The team has submitted a report. (See document A/47/668 and Corr.1 for activities undertaken up to 16 October 1992.)

MOZAMBIQUE

Request: Under the terms of the General Peace Agreement for Mozambique of 4 October 1992, the United Nations was invited to observe the elections scheduled to take place within a year of its signing.

Action taken: Anticipating United Nations involvement in the electoral process, a technical team visited Mozambique in September 1992 and submitted a report to the Secretary-General. On 13 October 1992, the Security Council approved the appointment of an interim Special Representative and the dispatch of 25 military observers. The Secretary-General presented a report to the Security Council, dated 3 December 1992 (S/24892 and Corr.1 and Add.1) and, on 16 December 1992, the Council adopted resolution 797 (1992), which established the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ). The Director of the Electoral Assistance Unit travelled to Mozambique in March 1993 to review the electoral calendar and to adjust the plan for the deployment of the electoral component of ONUMOZ. The Electoral Assistance Unit has been backstopping ONUMOZ on electoral matters. Besides ONUMOZ, the United Nations is providing technical assistance to the electoral authorities in Mozambique through a project being

implemented by the Department for Development Support and Management Services. In August 1993, an officer of the Electoral Assistance Unit and a consultant on electoral law went to Maputo in order to assist in the discussions of the Government and the opposition parties on electoral law. The activities of ONUMOZ are set forth in detail in the following reports to the Security Council: S/24642, S/24892 and Corr.1 and Add.1, S/25518, S/26034, S/26385 and Add.1.

NETHERLANDS ANTILLES

Request: On 30 June 1993, the Chairman of the Commission of Constitutional Affairs of the Parliament of Curaçao sent a letter to the Secretary-General requesting the participation of a United Nations representative in the Commission that will organize a Referendum in order to decide upon the future political status of Curaçao. The Referendum is scheduled to take place on 19 November 1993.

Action taken: In August 1993, the United Nations sent an officer to participate in the Commission's discussions.

NIGER

Request: In early 1992, the United Nations received a first general request for technical and financial assistance through the UNDP officer in the Niger. On 8 October 1992, the Government reaffirmed its request for United Nations assistance. On 18 November 1992, the Government sent an additional request for United Nations observers.

Action taken: On 9 December 1992, the Government was informed that the Resident Coordinator would be instructed to follow and report on the electoral process. The Referendum on the new Constitution took place on 26 December 1992. A United Nations officer was sent to the Niger to assist the Resident Coordinator in organizing the international observation of the Legislative elections on 14 February, the first round of the Presidential elections on 27 February, and the second round on 20 March 1993. A report was submitted to the Secretary-General on the conduct and outcome of the elections.

PARAGUAY

Request: On 15 April 1993, the Government sent an official request for United Nations observation of the General Elections scheduled for 9 May 1993.

Action taken: In a letter dated 27 April 1993, the Government was informed that the Resident Coordinator would be requested to follow the electoral process and report on its conduct and outcome. UNDP also

implemented a project of technical support to the Electoral Council.

PHILIPPINES

Request: In 1992, the Commission on Elections of the Philippines requested technical assistance in the modernization of election procedures, the establishment of a management information system, and in the reorganization of the Commission.

Action taken: In April 1993, UNDP sent a consultant for a period of one month to provide technical assistance to the Electoral Commission.

SENEGAL

Request: On 3 February 1993, the United Nations received an official request from the Government of Senegal to send observers for the Presidential and Legislative elections scheduled to take place on 21 February and 9 May 1993, respectively.

Action taken: On 12 February 1993, the Government was informed that the Resident Coordinator would be instructed to follow the Presidential elections and to report to the Secretary-General on its conduct and outcome. With regard to the Legislative elections, the Resident Coordinator received the same instructions.

SEYCHELLES

Request: On 9 June 1993, the Government sent a request to the Secretary-General to send observers to the Referendum to be held on 18 June 1993. The United Nations was further requested by the Government to observe the Presidential and Legislative elections of 23 July 1993.

Action taken: The Government was informed that the UNDP Resident Representative in the Seychelles would be instructed to follow the Referendum and to report on its conduct and outcome. Regarding the Presidential and Legislative elections, an officer from the Electoral Assistance Unit was sent to the country to follow the elections and to prepare a study on the democratic transition. (See document A/47/668 and Corr.1 for activities undertaken up to 16 October 1992.)

SIERRA LEONE

Request: In September 1993, following consultations regarding the need for a Special Rehabilitation Mission to Sierra Leone, the Government confirmed its agreement with the fielding and terms of reference of such a mission.

Action taken: In October 1993, the United Nations sent a Special Rehabilitation Mission to Sierra Leone, headed by UNDP, in order, inter alia, to assess the requirements for free and fair elections. An officer of

the Department for Development Support and Management Services specialized in electoral processes was part of the mission, and has submitted a report.

SWAZILAND

Request: On 14 May 1993, the UNDP Resident Representative in Swaziland received an official request from the Government for financial assistance for the Parliamentary elections to be held in 1993.

Action taken: The Resident Representative informed the Government of the difficulties in fulfilling their request on account of the limited availability of UNDP funds.

TOGO

Request: On 19 November 1992, the Secretary-General received a request for observers for the Presidential and Legislative elections. Further requests were sent on 15 May 1993 and 17 July 1993. After some delays, the Presidential elections were ultimately held on 25 August 1993, and the Legislative elections have been tentatively scheduled for November 1993.

Action taken: On 27 May 1993, the Secretary-General sent a letter to the President of Togo, informing him that the United Nations was unable, at that stage, to respond positively. In the same letter, the Secretary-General also suggested that the elections be postponed until the political situation improved. Following a subsequent request of 17 July 1993, the Resident Coordinator was instructed to follow the electoral process and report on its outcome and conduct. A United Nations officer and a consultant were sent to the country to assist the resident Coordinator, who has submitted a report. (See document A/47/668 and Corr.1 for activities undertaken up to 16 October 1992.)

UGANDA

Request: On 27 October 1992, the UNDP Resident Representative informed Headquarters that the Government was contemplating inviting the United Nations and other international organizations to observe the elections for the Constituent Assembly in 1993. On 16 July 1993, the Commissioner for the Constituent Assembly sent a request to the United Nations to facilitate and coordinate the activities of international observers for the elections then scheduled for December 1993.

Action taken: A team composed of a United Nations officer and a consultant was sent to the country in November 1992 to assess the needs and to prepare a project document for technical assistance. In June 1993, a consultant was sent to assist the Resident Coordinator, and later a team of consultants went to assist the authorities in organizing the upcoming

elections, under the technical assistance project. In August 1993 the United Nations further sent a team composed of an officer of the Electoral Assistance Unit and a consultant to discuss with the local authorities the possibility of United Nations support to the coordination of international observers.